

INFORMATION REPORT

~~SECRET~~

CD NO.

COUNTRY Chile/USSR

SUBJECT PCCh Conception of Relation of the Cominform to
Chilean Communism
25X1A6aPLACE
ACQUIRED

DATE OF IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DATE DISTR. 26 MAY 1949

NO. OF PAGES 4 25X1A2g

NO. OF ENCLS.
(LISTED BELOW)SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.

TURN TO CIA LIBRARY

25X1X6

MOSCOW DIRECTION OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

1. Leaders of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh) have expressed to source their ideas of the role of the Cominform in the affairs of the Chilean Party, and of the manner in which the Party receives instructions and guidance from Moscow.
2. Chilean Communist leaders apparently differentiate between tactical and strategic direction and emphasize that no tactical direction is given to the PCCh by an international organization. Strict political lines or policies are never sent from Moscow or Western European countries, although the Chilean Party has adapted its own policy to the line of the Zhdanov speech made at the founding conference of the Cominform. Source states that the Latin American Parties are not subject to tactical direction. However, for reasons of international political solidarity, the Latin American Parties voluntarily submit to the strategic direction emanating from the Cominform.
3. The general political line was last set forth in the report made by Manuilski to the 18th Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Congress held in Moscow in 1939. The report of Zhdanov served to make this line more definite. Source emphasized that this line, in its general terms, has not been changed. The Communist Parties form their own national combinations but always use this line in determining their policy. Before the founding of the Cominform, instructions had been issued to the Chilean Party concerning nationalism, but since the line of the Cominform was not that of a "national union", the policy in Chile was changed and adapted to the internationalism of the Zhdanov report.
4. To the Chilean Communist, international political solidarity has never ceased to exist. Moreover, the present tendency is toward "international labor solidarity" which consists not in sending money or in making collections as was done in the case of the Spanish Civil War, but in having a political line which favors conditions for world revolution. The ultimate interest is in world revolution, not merely war. The capitalist bloc may promote a war in order to avoid the Communist revolution, but Communists can be alert to take advantage of such a war, and use it to

CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

STATE	#	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NAVY	#	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NSRB													
ARMY	#	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	AIR	#	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FBI													

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Document No. 009

NO CHANGE in Class. ☐☒ DECLASSIFIED

Class. CHANGED to: TS S C

DDA Memo, 4 Apr 77

Auth: DDA REG. 77/1763

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25X1A2g

-2-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

accelerate the revolutionary process. Thus guidance furnished by the Cominform is not intended to direct the various Parties in immediate political action of a national character, but toward movements of a wider international scope.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

5. The Communist International, as loosely referred to by members of the PCCh, is the meeting of leaders of high rank who determine the world-wide Party line. The latter do not determine the details, but furnish the broad ideas which the national leaders of the various countries endeavor to put into practice. Chilean Communists stick to the old nomenclature because in practice the directions come from Europe. For, in spite of the fact that there is now no higher authority in each Party than its own National Congress, the international tradition remains: the national Congresses are inspired by their national leaders, and these leaders are always consulting with the Communist Parties of Europe, or now, with the actual offices of the Cominform. There is no relation established between the Parties by regulation or statute, but as a matter of practice the relation is close. Thus informally the Parties coordinate their activities at the various international meetings, conferences and congresses. Source placed great emphasis on the lack of formalized international organization.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COMINFORM AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

6. PCCh leaders also gave their impression of the difference between the Cominform and the Communist International. The Communist International grouped together all the Communist Parties which were members of the International and which bore the name of Communist Party. Not every group had the right to use the name of Communist Party. The Cominform, on the other hand, is a group of the Communist Parties which are carrying out at this moment a specific function in Europe. Chilean Communists believe that this at least was the original idea. Efforts were made to create an organism which would serve for liaison and information between the Communist Parties which were able to work in an effective manner for the world-wide revolution. The organism is not concerned with maintaining a specific policy, but rather with bringing about a complete revolution in the countries of "popular democracies". Chilean Communist leaders fear that this idea has become somewhat lost, and they blame this on the confusion which is produced by the press reports of capitalist origin.
7. As Chilean Communists understand the organization of Communist Parties, there are three types of Parties in Europe. In the first place, there are the Communist Parties in the Soviet Union. Second, there are the Communist Parties which have their center of activity in the countries which have created "popular democracies" as forms of government. Third are the Communist Parties which have sufficient strength to work in conjunction with these other parties. To this last class belong the Parties of Italy, France and Germany. The English Party is not included in this list, and is considered to be of no consequence to the British government.

COMINFORM AUTHORITY OVER LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

8. Since the Cominform has studied and planned the situation in Europe, it has created "study commissions" for other problems such as those of colonial countries, and these problems concern Chile as well as all countries with a colonial economy. Source reaffirms that the classification "Marxist" is of an economic and not a political character.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~

-3- ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9. Leaders of the PCCh state that neither Chile nor any other Latin American country belongs to the Cominform, nor to any other international organization. Its activities as a Party at international meetings are subject to the rules existing for conferences, congresses, and meetings, which are occasionally held. The PCCh was catalogued among those Communist Parties with influence on the national life of their country, and therefore, it had a certain importance in the international meetings. Now, its importance has dwindled but its experience has been used to advantage by Cominform leaders.
10. It does not now appear probable that a kind of Cominform can be constituted for Latin America. It is possible that developments in Europe must unfold before such a step can be taken. If the situation in Europe progresses, then the future of a Latin American Cominform can be clarified. The problems of Latin America are studied so that data from their experiences may be gathered for use in preparing plans for the world-wide revolution. The Cominform gathers information from all over the world and study groups evaluate and analyze it. The experience gained in Asia, for example, or in any country of a colonial nature, can be studied by the countries of Latin America which have a similar economy and which may at any moment face the same problems of imperialism.
11. The Cominform collects background information and supplies it to the various Communist Parties. Its functions are now much more complex than those it had when it was first founded. Practically speaking, the Cominform is serving as a point of departure for reconstruction of the old "functional body" of the Communist International.* The resolutions of the Cominform are made by its Council or Secretariat, which discusses and adopts resolutions in accordance with the progress of events.
12. The Soviet Union works closely with the Cominform, adjusts its policy and influences it, and operates abroad through it. This method of operation is felt to give the USSR its greatest advantage over the Western Powers.

RELATIONSHIP OF VICTOR CONTRERAS TAPIA TO THE COMINFORM

13. Victor Contreras Tapia was invited by the Cominform to observe it and study reports of the experiences of other Parties which it has gathered. Source states that the invitation for the trip was received directly from the USSR, although the channels through which the invitation came are not specified. It is further stated that the USSR has financed all his expenses to enable him to remain in Europe as an observer of the Cominform's activities. Contreras Tapia was, in turn, expected to explain to the Cominform the policy of the PCCh while it was solidly in the Chilean government, before it failed and fell from power. It was thought that a study of the PCCh's experiences would provide a valuable lesson for other Parties, if the causes for its failure could be found. Its faulty political line and tactical errors could be pointed out so that similar failures in other Parties might be avoided.
14. At present, Victor Contreras Tapia is an observer at the meetings and discussions of the Cominform. He has already submitted his report on the policy of the PCCh, and is being taught the workings of the Cominform through attendance at all meetings in which he can gain valuable experience. His position in Europe is similar to that of those Chilean regional leaders who are invited to Santiago to receive instruction in methods of organization, interpretation, and action.
15. This is the theory of the functioning of the Cominform, according to Chilean Communist leaders, who believe, however, that in practice, the Communist International is being reborn. The observers who are invited to Europe act as liaison men, hence it is felt that the Cominform is reconstructing the old organization. This is not its ostensible task, but through its study commissions it is accomplishing this end.

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

-4-

CONTRERAS TOPIA'S POSITION IN THE CHILEAN COMMUNIST PARTY

16. Victor Contreras Tapia is not directing the policy of the PCCh, although he is having a great deal of influence on it indirectly. He reportedly writes to various friends in Chile, not always to the same one and not always using the same name. Chilean Communists do not write to him in the name of Victor Contreras but use various names. His wife also receives letters and writes to him under different names. In these letters he relates various experiences, but does not risk going into much detail. The PCCh expects to learn specifically what has happened and what should be done in the future when he returns to Santiago. When he does return to Chile, he will not be the main leader nor the new chief. His work in Europe is simply that of receiving instruction, but is not intended to prepare him to act as a future executive.

25X1A6a

 Comment. It is believed that the "functional body" of the Communist International possibly refers to the regional secretariats of the Comintern.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~